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ABSTRACT

This review of research literature written from 1971 to 1979 on Maori education integrates and highlights findings in the following areas: historical studies, language studies, scholastic achievement studies, methodological issues, and general issues. Historical studies suggest that there is no comprehensive social history of the relationships between Maori, Pakeha (a Maori term for those of non-Maori ancestry), and the educational system. Although data from a socio-linguistic census of Maori households indicate a need for bilingual education, there are numerous policy implications involved in implementing bilingual education programmes. Academically, Maori students do not perform as well in school as their Pakeha peers. Although this can be attributed to a great extent to environmental variables, cultural difference is an independent causal factor in the lower achievement of Maori children. Differences in educational achievement result from the different value systems of the various ethnic groups and the extent to which those systems motivate success in a school environment. If New Zealand society is to be multicultural and accord all cultures equal status, it must accept some academic differences between ethnic groups. However, a multicultural education system must employ various knowledge codes by using culturally appropriate pedagogical methods and must have a variety of options for evaluation. A bibliography of all of the research papers described is included. (CM)

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Research on the Education of Maori Children

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In tackling the task of reviewing the research literature, no attempt will be made to provide detailed summaries of individual research projects, rather findings will be integrated under topic areas, and used to highlight some of the assumptions that are made about 'Maori Education", and methodological (state of the art) issues. The topic areas into which the review of research has been divided are as follows:

1. Historical Studies.
2. Language Studies.
3. Scholastic Achievement Studies:
   - (i) Attitudinal Studies.
   - (ii) Intellectual Development and Assessment.
   - (iii) Social Factors.
   - (iv) School Factors.

Then follows a section highlighting methodological issues, and finally a concluding section in which some general issues are raised. The research reviewed covers the period 1971 to 79.

1. Historical Studies

There is no comprehensive history of ethnic groups and education in New Zealand, but we do have a good history of the relationships between

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the Maori population and the European introduced institution of schooling. This work (Barrington and Beaglehole, 1974) covers the whole span from earliest contact to the 1960's, providing a wealth of factual material on the evolving relationship between Maori and Pakeha, particularly as it affected schooling. From a methodological viewpoint the work has received some critical attention. McKenzie (1975) suggests that the authors stay too close to the facts, and that the broad sweep of developments does not become obvious. McKenzie attributes this difficulty to the fact that the book is the result of two independent research theses, completed some considerable time before its publication (8 and 19 years respectively). He goes on to suggest that theses are better used as source material than as preliminary drafts for a book. While accepting the criticism in this case we feel bound to suggest that the whole institutional context in which educational research has been conducted in New Zealand until quite recently (particularly historical research) is largely responsible for this state of affairs rather than these specific authors.

A further methodological point is made in another review of the Barrington and Beaglehole book (Bray, 1976) in which it is suggested that there is a need for more material from Maori sources, such as autobiographies. This is an important point, and it suggests that a high priority for historians of education should be the collection of oral histories from people of all ethnic groups (including Pakehas) who have passed through the schools. Fitzgerald (1977), an anthropologist, has collected such data as part of his fieldwork investigating the identity status of Maori graduates. Summaries of long interviews with 11 graduates are presented in Chapter 4 of his book and provide for Pakehas a perhaps unrecognizable view of the New Zealand education system - unrecognizable because it is seen from an unfamiliar perspective. The interview materials also show how aspects of the education system taken as routine and unproblematic by Pakehas, can be seen as major barriers from another cultural perspective. The wider collection of such materials should provide valuable insights into the effectiveness of the policies and enactments which are, by and large, so well documented.

What we appear to lack in this area is a comprehensive social history of the relationships between Maori, Pakeha and the educational system. Various pieces of such a history are available to us, but the picture is far

from complete. Ramsay (1972) in a brief survey indicates the way the beliefs and attitudes of policy makers, together with pressure from influential groups and individuals have affected the emphasis given to Maori culture and language in the school curriculum. Fitzgerald (1977) devotes a chapter to the first generation of Maori graduates in which some of the social pressures that were at work within Maori society can be perceived and of which we should know more to complement the social, political and economic material we have on the Pakeha world. Butterworth (1973) provides some interesting material for the period 1930 to 1960, outlining the influences of Sir Apirana Ngata, the Ratana movement, the Labour Government and the rapid urbanization that took place after 1945. From a philosophical perspective, Whitehead (1973) has examined the historical literature in an attempt to educe the unstated assumptions upon which Maori education has been based. He finds that until very recently the assumption of Europeanization has changed little since the Native Trust Ordinance of 1844, and that the change of policy from 'assimilation' to 'integration' was largely rhetorical and did not alter the underlying Europeanization.

2. Language Studies

The dominant force in this area of study is the Maori Research Unit of the New Zealand Council for Educational Research under the direction of Richard Benton. This group have completed what must be one of the largest social surveys ever undertaken in New Zealand, a sociolinguistic census of Maori households in the North Island. Initial results have been reported in Benton (1979a, 1979d) where one can find an answer to the question 'Who speaks Maori?' This answer is:

1. Most Maoris over 25 in Northland, Bay of Plenty and the East Coast.
2. Most Maoris over 45 in most parts of the North Island.
3. A few young people and children in some places; and
4. Most children and young people in a very small number of rural areas.

Further, Benton estimates that about 70,000 can speak conversational Maori, and a further 115,000 are able to understand it with ease. But he warns that there is likely to be a rapid decrease in these numbers as half of the Maori population are under 15, and only 15 per cent of that age group are able to speak Maori. Conversely, those over 45 account for nearly 40 per cent of Maori speakers, but are only 12 per cent of the Maori population. With these data to hand, Benton's arguments for bilingual education take on greater import and urgency. Benton (1979b) reviews the beginnings of bilingual schooling at Ruatoki, where Maori is the major teaching medium for the first two or three years, and retains equal status with English at the upper levels. Bilingual developments at Fernhill school in the Hawkes Bay are also discussed as well as future plans in other schools, and some of the problems that arise. An integral part of these studies is the extensive consultation with parents which is seen as an essential component of such developments - see for example Montgomery (1979), who surveyed the parents at a private primary school (90 per cent Pakeha) in the Hastings area and found that 65 per cent of those who responded (108 out of 132) were in favour of teaching Maori, while 44 per cent supported in principle a bilingual programme at the school. While the school's parents cannot be considered representative of New Zealand as a whole, this survey may be indicative of a shift in public opinion over a relatively short period of time. It is also a good example of the necessary consultation and groundwork which must be undertaken if any kind of innovation is to be introduced in a school - or into schools in general.

The reasons advanced for bilingual education (Benton, 1976, 1979b) depend on the particular circumstances of each school. Bilingual programmes can be used for:

1. Language maintenance (Ruatoki).
2. Language revival (Fernhill).
3. The maintenance of diversity and as a national symbol (system-wide).

The policy implications of taking the bilingual option seriously are immense - indeed they represent 'a major political initiative' (Benton, 1979c : 9).

The policy changes needed to implement genuine bilingual curricula in New Zealand schools are discussed by Benton (Ibid) in some detail. He points out that they go beyond the sphere of education into those of social attitudes and politics. In fact, New Zealand society must go far beyond the rhetoric of multi-culturalism (at which we have few peers in the world) and give substance to our fine words, particularly if it is conceded that what is applicable to the Maori language must also be applicable to Samoan, Dutch, Greek and so on.

A history of Maori language teaching in New Zealand secondary schools is to be found in Devlin (1974), who also carried out a survey of all the secondary schools in 1973 and found that half were not offering (or intending to) either Maori language or Maori studies components in their programmes.

A further group of studies are concerned with the use of the English language by Maoris. McDonald (1977a) undertook a componential analysis of the meanings of spatial adjectives imputed by Maori and Pakeha four year olds. She found that the order of acquisition was the same for both groups, and that there was little difference on word recognition or comprehension. The suggestion is made, none-the-less, that some word meaning differences do exist between Maori and Pakeha (p.338). She found no evidence of 'deficits' or 'differences' in ways of thinking - no *Sapir-Whorf* effect (though none of her Maori sample were Maori speakers). Age was a critical variable for both groups, while SES was critical only for Pakehas. McDonald's comments on 'deficit' theories of 'Maori English' are strongly echoed by Hawkins (1972) who mounts a vigorous attack on the 'cultural deprivation' hypothesis evident in some Departmental publications of the late 60's. McCallum (1978) also rejects a 'deficit' model in her research on the English language usage of Maori and Pakeha Standard 2 pupils. She recorded the spoken English of a variety of children and analyzed the verb forms, finding significant differences between Maori and Pakeha groups (no within ethnic group differences). However, she points out that both Maori groups (an urban, English only speaking group and a rural Maori speaking group) were producing between 84 and 90 per cent standard English verb forms '... scarcely convincing evidence of the development of a separated potentially stable dialect'. (Ibid, p.142).

For a more extensive review of research studies of the linguistic competencies of Maori and other Polynesian children in New Zealand see St. George (1980), who approaches the area not only from the point of view of English language competence, but also from the bilingual perspective, reviewing competencies in Maori and the implications for schooling and schools.

3. Scholastic Achievement Studies

The New Zealand Education Department in its annual report to Parliament provide basic data from their annual returns from schools. The far more informative and useful *Education Statistics of New Zealand* appears to have been one of the victims of financial constraints as the last one appeared in 1977 with the data for 1976. It is a pity that this most useful document does not have a higher priority. However, it is from such annual returns to the Education Department that the basic parameters of the poorer school performance of Maori pupils relative to their Pakeha peers become evident. Pass rates in the national public examinations, the figures on school leaving, enrolment ratios at various levels of the education system and many more are to be found there. It is the attempt to account for the differences observable in these parameters that is the particular concern of the research reported on here.

The most often quoted research study in this area is that of Lovegrove (1966) who reported 'that Maori and European children from almost comparable home backgrounds performed similarly on tests of scholastic achievement'. However, there are a number of methodological flaws in the study which make such a conclusion from his data somewhat insecure (see Harker 1976a, pp.6-12 for a detailed critique). Harker (1978) using a large sample drawn mainly from the Wanganui Board area (and hence overly rural and unbalanced with regard to SES), found that such environmental variables as SES, family size and rural-urban location are related to both school achievement and ethnicity, and further, that controlling for such variables, while reducing the variance accounted for by ethnicity, did not entirely eliminate it, particularly on test criteria (*PAT* and *Ravens*). Maori-Pakeha differences on a variety of school achievement criteria are reported in a number of other studies, Kerr (1971), Codd (1972). Peddie (1974) presents a good, concise historical review of achievement studies, and an informative discussion of the problems of interpreting statistical and census data. Olsen's (1972) longitudinal study of early school leavers at two rural and two urban central districts secondary schools found that Maori pupils

were three times more likely than Pakeha to be early leavers. Interestingly he found fewer differences between the Maori leavers and non-leavers than for Pakehas. For example, there was no difference in non-verbal IQ between the two Maori groups, unlike the Pakeha. Other researchers (McDonald (1975), Harker (1978) in Education and Kinloch (1979) in Child Health) have also noted that some environmental variables (most notably SES) known to be associated with achievement and health measures for children of European cultures do not relate in the same way to the achievement scores of Maori and Polynesian children.

The complex of relationships between health, ethnic origin and school achievement have received increased attention in the past decade. Prior (1974) and Tonkin (1974) outline the main dimensions of the problems involved, provide useful statistical material and review a number of ongoing studies. An ex-post facto study by Wright (1978) on 124 Maori and non-Maori five year olds provided some interesting data from an extensive battery of medical and health tests as well as cognitive and perceptual tests. Unfortunately however, the findings are presented as two parallel sets of data (both of which are very interesting, particularly the health data on vision and hearing) and while it is clear that poor health could well affect school performance, it is not demonstrated with the data in Wright's study which could have been subjected to multi-variate analysis.

In summary then it is clear that there are a number of environmental variables which relate to ethnicity on the one hand and to school achievement on the other. In most cases these environmental variables exacerbate the achievement differences between Maori and Pakeha - at the statistical level Maoris tend to have more child health problems, larger families, to live in more depressed areas with poorer schooling environments and lower social status in the community. However, in the studies where such factors have been taken into account (admittedly no study has taken *all* of them into account simultaneously) there is usually still some variance left to ethnicity, which points to the probability that cultural difference itself (the difference between the culture of the child's home and

community, and the culture inherent in the curriculum, organization and teaching methods of the school) is an independent causal factor in the lower achievement of Maori children in New Zealand schools.

3(i) Attitudinal Studies

This is a mixed category including skills, values and some personality factors as well as attitudes. The studies are considered under two headings: Pakeha attitudes toward Maoris; and Maori attitudes, skills, values and personality factors viewed from the perspective of Pakeha norms.

Pakeha Attitudes toward Maoris

Nightingale (1977) set out to test Walker's statement 'that teachers are predominantly monocultural and not sensitized to react to biculturalism or the minority group needs of Maori pupils'. He studied four aspects: attitudes to biculturalism; seeking to understand through experience; knowledge of the educational problems of Maori pupils; and knowledge of Maori terms and practices. His sample of teachers in Taranaki and Hawkes Bay lends some empirical support to Walker's contention.

Whatever teachers think and know of Maori culture, does not necessarily relate to the way Maori children are treated in classrooms. A. St. George (1978) carried out a naturalistic observational study to explore the way teachers expectations relate to their perceptions of other pupil attributes including ethnic group. Her findings were that teachers held different expectations for and perceptions of Polynesian and Pakeha pupils which reflected the achievement differences. There were no differences between Maori and Pakeha children in terms of teacher-pupil interaction and teachers did not treat pupils for whom they held low expectations in what could be judged a negative way. The lack of findings indicative of teacher discrimination is supported by Harker (1978) who found no bias by teachers against Maori pupils in their annual ratings of achievement. The findings of Nicholls and Barnett (1977, Study 2) would also indicate that teachers do not systematically practice racial discrimination or differentiation in New Zealand schools.

Bray and Jordan (1976) set out to examine the attitudes of Teachers College students toward the education of Maoris. The methodology employed however, is rather opaque, and insufficient rationale is given to properly interpret the findings, from which the authors draw somewhat banale conclusions (e.g., 'attitudes may vary according to degree of personal

involvement' p.58). Stewart (1974), in a well designed study failed to find any effect on the attitudes of third year teacher trainees of a course in Maori Studies. However, pre-test attitudes were highly favourable for all groups, hence little change could be expected. He noted that the low scorers on the pre-test made the most gains, which may simply reflect the 'regression to the mean' phenomenon, or be a result of peer pressure.

Maori Attitudes

The research in this section is grouped into four topics: Ethnic awareness; Classroom behaviour; Friendship patterns; and Future time perspective.

Ethnic awareness has been studied by Awatere (1974) who replicated Vaughan's well known studies of the early 1960's. Results were similar with one exception:

> The striking difference between this study and (those of Vaughan and Hills) is the much greater preference of the Maori figures by both races. This more favourable attitude to the Maori figures persists across the entire age range.
>
> (Ibid, p.36)

The Maori children identify with the Pakeha dolls up to age ten when a changeover occurs which is also reflected in attitudes. In Awatere's study, these ethnic choices were made at a much younger age than in Vaughan's original study.

Quinnell (1974) review the various general issues underlying the cultural and ethnic differences contained within the social milieu of classrooms and some of the methodological issues that are entailed. His observational study found that the children studied tended to differentially interact with their peers according to racial grouping, the Maori children being more ethnically gregarious and less separatist in their classroom peer interactions (p.161). Another finding of Quinnell's was that there was no difference between Maori and Pakeha in initiating or responding to teacher attention (p.169). However, McKessar and Thomas (1978) report three studies showing that urban Maori children are less likely than Pakeha children to ask the teacher directly for help, and more likely to give what the authors interpret

as help-seeking, non-verbal signals. These findings are not supported by the observations of A. St. George (1978). Another interesting aspect of classroom behaviour is the work of Denee (1972) whose observational studies in an Auckland play centre led her to develop models of inclusive and exclusive modes of interaction, finding the former associated with Polynesians and the latter with Pakehas. Adding to these findings from other studies Graves (1974) reports the effect the proportion of Polynesians on the school roll had on the modes of interaction; as the proportion increases, the Pakeha children exhibit increasing exclusive behaviour, while Polynesian children show an increase in inclusive behaviour. Graves draws some interesting pedagogical conclusions based around the different teaching/learning styles inherent in the two modes of interaction.

A related phenomenon, that of co-operation and competition has received some attention. Vercoe (1971) used the *Prisoners Dilemma Game* on a sample of 123 children and found that the Maori eight year old is neither more nor less co-operatively oriented than European eight year olds, nor do they perform better than the European child in a co-operative social situation as opposed to a competitive social situation (p.67). Using *Madsen Co-operation Boards*, Thomas (1975) found little difference between urban Maori and Pakeha children, but a considerable difference between those two groups and groups of rural Maori and Cook Island children, who were much more co-operatively oriented. Unfortunately a group of rural Pakeha children were not included in the study which would have allowed a clearer distinction to be made between effects due to rural or urban residence.

More directly related to achievement are studies by Podmore (1978) and by Nicholls and Barnett (1977). Podmore's observational study found ethnic differences on specific academic survival skills (attending behaviour, complying behaviour, interaction with peers and classroom location). Nicholls and Barnett (Study 3) explored the 'fear of success' hypothesis, and although somewhat uncertain of the validity of their measurement procedure, conclude that there was no indication of any greater fear of the consequences of success amongst the Maori pupils in their sample than amongst the Pakeha pupils.

A most comprehensive study of the self concept of Maoris is reported in Ranby (1979). Using a very large stratified sample of North Island secondary

school pupils, he found that on average the Maori self concept was 'lower' than for non-Maoris after controlling for family size, SES, age, class and academic level. Also he found no evidence of any relationship between the presence and strength of Maoritanga courses in the school and the 'strength' of the Maori self concept. In his discussion, Ranby makes some very interesting points about the cross cultural use of tests (and the concepts they seek to measure) such as a self concept test. He asks; 'Is a positive Maori self concept the same as a positive Pakeha self concept?' Fitzgerald (1977) explores the related area of Identity.

There have been three studies of friendship patterns amongst Maori and Pakeha children. Edgerley (1972) tested 233 pupils at Standard 4, Form II and Form III levels and found that Maori and Pakeha had similar numbers of close friends and acquaintances. Unlike Pakeha girls, Maori girls showed a preference for one close friend at the Form III level. Generally, Maori children showed a tendency to opt for a friend of 'own race' as they moved up the three age levels. Also parents had a stronger influence on choice of friends for the Maori group. A good study by Morrison (1978) confirmed some of Edgerley's findings with a sample of 605 aged 6 to 11 at four schools with differing Polynesian enrolment ratios, (the enrolment ratios were used to generate the expected frequencies for the Chi-squared tests). His data strongly supported the following two hypotheses:

1. The number of own race popularity choices will be significantly higher than would be expected from the distribution of racial membership of the school; and
2. the number of own race popularity choices will increase significantly with age.

A third hypothesis was strongly rejected:

3. As the size of the minority group increases, so will the ratio of observed to expected cross-racial friendship choices.

In fact a significant trend in the opposite direction was found, i.e., an increase in the ethnic polarization of friendship choices as the proportion of Polynesians on the roll increases.

Edgerley's first finding has received strong support from Young's Rotorua study (Young, 1978) which used 938 Form I pupils. His basic hypothesis was that Maori children would have larger and less persistent friendship groups than would Pakeha children. The expected pattern showed up on first analysis, but when the data were re-analyzed using multiple regression, semi-partialling out the effects of some environmental variables (the key ones being family size and whether or not a child had relatives in the near vicinity) the Maori-Pakeha differences disappeared.

Another aspect which bears on pupils attitudes and to have received some research attention is that of future time perspective. Bray's reported findings (1970, 1971) of Maori-Pakeha differences in both future time perspective and delay of gratification need to be treated cautiously as there is no control in the sampling of such factors as family size or socio-economic status. Havighurst (1973) did control for socio-economic status (though he ended up with a quite unbalanced sample), and tapped rural and urban fifth formers and young people in the work force. He found that Pakehas (and high SES Maoris) had a clearer image of the future, and that in general Pakehas had a longer time perspective than Maoris, but that there was no difference between middle class Maoris and middle class Pakehas. Havighurst interprets this as evidence of increasing acculturation to European patterns by urban, middle class Maoris.

In summary the research reviewed in this section shows that while teachers may more often than not be quite ignorant of many aspects of Maori culture, there is little evidence of discrimination in classroom practices. However, the facts that Maori culture is clearly of little interest to teachers, and the Maori value system of such little significance in the organization of the school, point to a much more fundamental form of discrimination that is revealed in any of the research reports. Bordieu claims that one of the major functions of an education system is the reproduction of the cultural and social systems of the dominant group, and the evidence of teacher attitudes reported here would seem to be consistent with such an assertion. Further support for Bordieu's view is to be found in those studies of pupils which show that the results on various factors for Maori middle-class and urban children are more like the results of Pakeha children than those of other Maoris, Thomas (1975), Havighurst (1973). I think Havighurst is correct in indicating that 'getting on' for Maoris means becoming increasingly like middle class Pakehas, and I also think it

to be one of the fundamental outcomes of our present schooling system to make it impossible to 'succeed' in any other way, a point which will be taken up in the final section. It seems to me that an awareness of this state of affairs is reflected in:

1. The small size of the Maori 'middle class'; and
2. the data on friendship which show an increasing polarization of friendship choices along ethnic lines with age and in increasingly mixed schools. (Edgerley 1972, Morrison 1978)

3(ii) Intellectual Development and Assessment

The research literature in this rather technical field has been well reviewed by St. George and St. George (1975) and brought further up to date in R. St. George (1977). Following a detailed analysis of studies which utilize cognitive or performance tests St. George concluded that: first, it is an unwarranted assumption that Pakehas would outperform Maoris on measures of intellectual ability (verbal or non-verbal); secondly, with young subjects significant Maori-Pakeha differences are much harder to find the more recent the study was carried out. This result is due, he suggests, to the much greater degree of commonality between the environments of Maori and Pakeha children now than in the past; thirdly he found that group measures of ability have been used in the majority of studies reported; fourthly, much of the data reported was equivocal due to sampling restrictions in many of the studies; fifth, and perhaps most important for the purposes of this conference, St. George reports that far too few studies using tests of cognitive and performance ability bother to carry out (let alone report) reliability and validity checks within the ethnic groups they are studying. I do not propose to pursue this area further here, as it is a complex area which deserves treatment in a separate paper. Suffice to say that there is a clear need for comparative surveys with adequate samples, using instruments whose reliability and validity characteristics are known for the groups on which they are to be used. St. George's own study (1977) of the *Queensland Test* is a good example.

A brief mention is warranted here by the studies that have explored the possibility of stylistic differences between Maori and Pakeha in the cognitive area. Chapman (1973) found no difference between adolescent males on Witkin's field-dependent-independent dimension. Chapman's findings in this perceptual area, are echoed in Harker (n.d.) who found no difference in preferred mode of categorization between Maori and Pakeha Standard Three pupils.

3(iii) Social Factors

A number of the studies covered in previous sections overlap into this category. In addition however, there are a number of other studies which take up wider issues, and have their affect on education. R. St. George (1972) reviewed studies of racial intolerance in New Zealand and found that they consistently reported evidence of racial prejudice on the part of Pakehas, directed toward Maoris. It is arguable that this situation may have worsened with community conflicts over specific land issues in recent years, the growing levels of unemployment, 'gangs', and the growing confidence of Maori cultural self determination, any or all of which may be seen as threatening by Pakehas. However, the last available Report of the Race Relations Conciliator, for the year ending in March 1978 (E.17) reports a decline in the number of complaints from the previous year - though previous years had witnessed steady increases. More directly concerned with education, Spoonley (1979) has produced an analysis of the social structural inequalities and the educational process in New Zealand. Spoonley advocates a policy based on affirmative action as the most realistic way of overcoming the structural inequalities working against Maoris. He suggests that although there is plenty of talk about multi-culturalism:

> ... the wider community and the politicians (emphasize) the unity of New Zealand society and refuse to accept that ethnic pluralism exists, and that it needs to be reflected in the organization of social institutions.
>
> (Ibid, p.85)

He also suggests that the welfare state tradition of government which has put its emphasis on equality of access meritocracy and universalism, has proved inadequate as a just distributor of the social goods and benefits of education. Further, Spoonley is pessimistic about the climate of public

opinion in New Zealand which he sees as opposed to affirmative action involving positive discrimination.

Social factors within the Maori community have often been ignored in past research, but a number of recent studies have shown how important such factors can be. McDonald (1973) has shown the importance of classifying the community of residence in studies involving Maoris in terms that are relevant to other aspects of Maori culture, rather than the 'traditional' research classifications based on Euro-American models. Hence it is not the town itself or its size which is important, but the structural relationship of the Maori community to the other communities who make up the town which crucially affects aspects of Maori life and behaviour. Kawharu (1975) presents an interesting study of a Maori community and devotes a major part of the work to education. Although events have rather overtaken the particular community studied, it remains a useful study which provides analysis of the complex interactions between social forces acting *on* a Maori community, and those operating *within* it. Both sets of forces have relevance for the study of educational performance, and there is a clear need for further community studies of this type in all four of the community types suggested by McDonald - kin-based separate, kin-based engulfed (the type studied by Kawharu), migrant with Maoris exceeding 10 per cent of the population, migrant with Maoris under 10 per cent of the population.

Some further social and political factors will be taken up in the concluding section.

3(iv) School Factors

The most comprehensive study of the impact of a school on its Maori pupils is that of Cleave (1976). This excellent anthropological study of St. Stephen's school reports the members (teachers, pupils and parents) 'definitions of the situation' and explores the extent to which these definitions coincide with official structures. The unofficial life (underlife) of the school is also given extensive coverage, and an interesting theoretical discussion constitutes the final part of the work. The author concludes that the success of this particular school is due to the fact that the structural features of the institution are perceived by pupils to be 'Maori' as well as more formal aspects of the curriculum.

Other aspects of school life have received some attention. Kerr (1971) pointed out the deleterious affects of long bus journeys to school, and showed that in the school he studied this particularly affected Maori pupils as they were from the most remote areas. Codd and Stewart (1975) in their study of a boarding hostel at a state girls high school suggest that the hostel environment was a more supportive and congenial one for the Maori pupils than for the Pakeha pupils due to the predominance of communal features.

Interesting reports from principals who have succeeded in developing school environments in which Maori culture is reinforced and treated positively are to be found in Gregory (1974), Blank (1974), Smith (1974) and Johnson (1974). Also Ritchie (1978) provides interesting material developed at Te Kohanga experimental pre-school centre in Hamilton.

The school factor to receive the most attention in recent years has been the curriculum. Benton's work on language and bilingual schooling (discussed above) has clear implications in this area. It is clear that these implications affect the social and political spheres as well (Benton, 1979c).

Ramsay (1972) traces the place of Maori culture and language in the school curriculum and indicates the main social and political influences affecting this place - see also Devlin (1976). Attention is also given to this question in the major historical work on Maori Education, Barrington and Beaglehole (1974). Royal (1975) looks at some of the administrative implications of introducing Maori language and culture into the curriculum, and also some possible cultural outcomes. He argues for:

1. Biculturalism for Maori pupils.
2. Inter-cultural understanding for Pakeha pupils.
3. Maoritanga as a contributor to an emerging New Zealand culture.

In curriculum terms he foresees some conflicts arising among these aims, but resolves them into two thrusts: first, that bilingual and bicultural programmes be available to all who so choose; and secondly the forging of 'Kiwitanga' (sic) from the two cultural inputs. Royal goes on to suggest methods of realizing these as objectives in Secondary Schools. This raises a number of fundamental issues, which need to be examined.

Lawton (1975, p.6) defines the curriculum as 'A selection from the culture of a society'. In this regard the Currie Commission commented that:

> The school... has a double task with the Maori pupil. It is not, nor can it ever be, the prime agency in conserving the Maori cultural heritage; its main task is undoubtedly to provide the Maori pupil with the educational equipment to enable him to play his part in the modern world and to this end the Maori pupil has the same body of learning to master as the non-Maori. But such elements of his Maori background must be included in his schooling as will give him still the sense of belonging to a race of known and respected culture. The Maori pupil will then have a surer basis on which to build the scholastic achievement of which he has such need.
>
> (Currie Commission 1962, pp.415-416)

This quotation probably reflects the opinions of most people concerned about education in New Zealand. There are two matters from this passage which deserve comment: first the implication of the penultimate sentence; and secondly the empirical testing of the ultimate one.

Whatever the intentions of the Currie Commission, the passage above can be interpreted to mean that culture (Maori culture in particular) is something that can be divided up into 'packages' or units of study, labelled 'Maori Language', 'Maori Studies' and so on, then slotted into timetables where they can be utilized within the curriculum like the other subjects. Whether such a programme would give a pupil a 'sense of belonging to a race of known and respected culture' is debateable since such 'packaging' is done on the basis of a set of values and assumptions about the curriculum (and about knowledge in general) which are entirely European in origin. It can be argued that it is not only the content of a curriculum which defines its cultural ethos, but the way it is organized, and the relative status given to various 'subject' areas. It is these structural aspects of educational knowledge that Basil Bernstein takes to be the distinctive feature of the Sociology of Education (Bernstein 1977 : 112). Bernstein's penetrating analysis of curriculum structures and their relationships with power and social control should be compulsory reading for those involved in educating children of mixed ethnic origin and indicates a fruitful area for New Zealand based research. Briefly, using Bernstein's model, New Zealand secondary schools would be seen as operating a 'collection' type of knowledge code in which contents stand in a closed relation to each other, being clearly bounded and insulated. Under collection codes: knowledge is private property with its own power structure and market

situation; subject loyalty is developed in students; students learn to work within a received frame (discipline); the evaluative system places emphasis upon attaining *states* of knowledge rather than ways of knowing; the pedagogical relationship tends to be hierarchical and ritualized; the pupil seen as ignorant with little status and few rights; and educational knowledge is kept separate from everyday 'common-sense' knowledge (except for the less able children whom we have given up educating).

An alternative model elaborated by Bernstein is called an integrated code. In such a code previously insulated subjects are subordinated to some relational idea which blurs the boundaries between the subjects. Thus integration reduces the authority of subjects and disciplines and has implications for the other features - noted above as characteristics of collection codes.

The point I wish to make here is that these knowledge codes have clear relationships to cultural and social contexts. The collection code is clearly 'suitable' for a hierarchically organized socio-economic system where division of labour is marked. Thus in a modern industralized society schools featuring an 'integration' type knowledge code are confined to the periphery of the education system as various 'alternatives'. A collection code also clearly facilitates social control through education especially when those who fail to attain appropriate 'states of knowledge' can be convinced through the use of 'scientific' legitimating devices such as I.Q. tests, that their failure is their own fault. While it is true that Maoris (like Pakehas) have to earn their living in a modern, industrialized labour market, which implies at least a 'common core' curriculum for all, the addition of 'elements of... Maori background' involves more than new subjects.

Bernstein suggests that there are three message systems through which we convey information about our knowledge code : curriculum (the one given emphasis by the Currie Commission); pedagogy; and evaluation. If we wish to incorporate into our schools a selection from the Maori knowledge code, then we must be prepared to look seriously at pedagogical and evaluative aspects as well as curriculum content. I see the development of the Whanau house design in secondary schools as a significant step in the direction of a reformed pedagogy (at least it facilitates such reform - whether we end up with old wine in a new bottle remains to be seen). The work of Graves (1974) discussed earlier draws pedagogical conclusions from their studies of Maori and Pakeha learning styles. The abolition of externally moderated, norm referenced examinations as the sole legitimating devices to control 'what

counts as educational knowledge' would be a long step in 'freeing up' the evaluation message system also.

The second matter I wanted to raise was the assertion that Maori 'subjects' in the curriculum would lead to an enhanced self-image which in turn would lead to improved performance in 'real' subjects. This question is easily subject to empirical verification. Ronald's 1971 study of Maori language and pupil characteristics has some major methodological flaws which make the findings unreliable: First, no attempt to match the sub-samples, hence no control over other factors which could be varying along with the presence or absence of Maori language instruction; and, second, you cannot assume that the relationships he did find (namely, that those learning Maori: (i) valued education more highly; (ii) considered themselves peer leaders; (iii) had greater pride in their Maori descent; (iv) take more part in Maori activities; (v) had a greater sense of school achievement; and (vi) had higher teacher ratings) are causal in the direction he indicates. Indeed, a good argument could be put forward in favour of a reversed direction. Sample control is crucial if any causality is under study. Ranby's study (1979) with a much more satisfactory sample showed no relationship between self concept and the presence and strength of Maoritanga courses. He did find, however, that the schools with Maori traditions did better than the state schools, and goes on to suggest that Maoritanga is something that is lived, not something that you teach.

Hence the assertion of the Currie Commission is lacking in empirical support. From my own perspective such a question is unimportant as it seems to me to be a complete denial of a multi-cultural education system if the only grounds for accepting 'elements' of Maori culture into the curriculum is that they lead to improved performance in 'real' (i.e., Pakeha) subjects.

Finally, the problem confronting both researchers and administrators for the future is well stated by Codd (1972) who states that the question should not be 'How can we cope with Maori children?' but:

> What can be done to our formal education process in order that it embrace, reflect and sustain the cultural diversity which exists in our society?
>
> (Ibid., p.34)

Methodological Considerations

A number of researchers warn of the dangers of using concepts (and test instruments) in an unthinking way, assuming that such concepts or tests are both relevant and appropriate to the different groups being studied. McDonald (1975), Harker (1976) and Kinlock (1979) warn of the lack of relevance of occupational status to Maori criteria of social status - the two do not appear to be linked and the relationship to behaviour is not nearly as closely linked for Maoris as for Pakehas. Ranby (1979) in his discussion of the self concept raises issues that are generally applicable to psychological concepts, that they cannot be assumed to have the same meaning within different cultural systems, nor to bear the same relationship to behaviour. Hence, as St. George (1977) points out, measuring instruments need to be thoroughly validated for the group being tested if the results are to have any meaning at all.

McDonald (1976) criticises the wide variety of criteria used to define Maoris for research purposes. After a detailed outline of the research problems associated with the terms Maori and Pakeha she suggests that researchers must be much more willing to make use of the categorizations made by the group being studied, as well as accepting 'self report' as the most meaningful measure of identity. In another paper, McDonald (1978) takes up the problem of communication in cross-cultural research generally. From her own research experience and the work of Metge and Kinloch (1978) she concludes that such communication is problematic because:

1. of differing beliefs and values;
2. of the status differences that may exist (and of the interpretations of these differences which may be being made);
3. of different interpretations of behaviour; and
4. of the way each culture prefers to organize events and encounters.

Many examples are given of misunderstandings which have occurred because of a failure to understand the way communication can break down in a cross-cultural situation. Some evidence of the way such cultural differences in the 'definition

of the situation' can affect performance is to be found in Nicholls and Barnett (1977, Study 1). They set out to test the hypothesis that Maori children would show greater wariness in testing situations. Their methodology involved giving the Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test to matched samples of low SES Maori and Pakeha children (together with a sample of high SES Pakehas). The test was administered under three conditions: play; standard; and cool; to both five year olds and ten year olds. The main finding was that at both ages Maori children showed a significant drop in performance under the impersonal 'cool' testing situation, which was not found in either Pakeha group. This finding was taken to support their hypothesis, and they go on to argue that the 'cool' condition was 'culturally alien' for the Maori children (p.8). In conclusion they suggest that it is particularly 'important to establish a supportive testing climate with Maori children if they are to display their developed competence'. (Ibid). They also point out that these 'maladaptive motivational tendencies' might not in fact be maladaptive at all 'if schools were willing and able to reflect the positive values of Maori culture' (Ibid). Some caution needs to be exercised here, however, as the Maori children performed at the same level under both the 'play' and 'standard' testing conditions, and also, even the 'play' condition is still a test situation, hence the data generated by the design do not provide a fully rigorous test of the hypothesis.

On looking at the body of research in this area as a whole a number of trends become apparent. First, there is an increase in the use of ethnographic techniques involving observation in schools and classrooms. The classic participant-observation method of anthropology has rarely been utilized, the major exception being the study by Cleave (1976). It is here that the major thrust in the future must come. What actually happens in classrooms, how people actually treat each other, what they actually think about each other are best revealed by observing them in real classrooms and in real schools. Hence there is a need for more studies carried out in naturalistic settings, utilizing the evolving methods of observation. There is certainly still room for well designed studies of the experimental or survey type, but they cannot by themselves provide us with insight and understanding into the way schooling affects

the lives of Maori and Pakeha pupils. The comments made in the section on historical research are generally applicable in all areas, that is, too little regard has been taken of Maori viewpoints. Too few researchers try to step outside their own cultural framework (of which social science is a part) and try to view the situation from the point of view of those being researched, or even consulting with members of the 'other' group. McDonald (1977b) shows how such consultation can be turned to the mutual benefit of researcher and researched. Also it should be noted that Maoris do have views about education (most decided ones according to Royal (1977)) which are not sufficiently well known or researched.

Let me conclude this section with a call for more research which is meaningful from the viewpoint of the culture of the researched, rather than an externally applied measurement process using tests and behavioural concepts derived from the culture of the researcher.

Concluding Remarks

Cultural difference implies, amongst other things, different value systems, which include in turn, different definitions of 'worthwhile activities'. If a minority culture places less emphasis on achievement (in the educational institutions of the majority culture) as a worthwhile activity than does some other culture, and furthermore, if in that minority culture educational achievement does not automatically confer high social status or prestige on the achiever, then it is to be expected that children from such a minority culture will not perform so well at schools oriented to an achievement based set of values and status conferring criteria. This, it could be argued, would be the case to some extent in New Zealand with regard to Maori and Pakeha children.

In the face of strong pressures to equalise educational performance for Maori and Pakeha children, there would appear to be but two choices (or some combination of them); through parent education and intensive pre-school intervention attempt to restructure the value system of Maori children in order to bring it into line with the requirements for success in the school environment; or make adjustments to the school environment (such as curriculum reform) in order to provide greater continuity with the Maori value system. Both of these alternatives have inherent problems. The first alternative if successful, would result in the disappearance of Maori culture as a distinctive life style - and the history of education in New Zealand has shown that over a century of

effort along such lines has not been particularly fruitful, and has been perhaps counter-productive. The second alternative may go some way to achieving the desired objective, but as Glazer (1969) suggests: 'those groups that do well in one school system will very likely do well in another'. What he is suggesting is that if the criteria for success in school are changed, those groups with high cultural motivation to succeed will adapt and continue to succeed under the new criteria. For Glazer the factors 'causing' ethnic differences in educational achievement lie in the different value systems of the cultures associated with various ethnic groups and the extent to which such value systems motivate children to succeed in a school environment... Hence achievement differences cannot be ameliorated by changes to the educational system - which rules out the second alternative mentioned above.

But the first alternative is not tenable either in a democratic pluralistic society such as New Zealand. As the Advisory Council on Educational Planning states:

> In a society which permits a wide diversity of styles of life and beliefs, and which is vigorously pursuing with its main ethnic sub-group a policy of cultural coexistence, it is obvious that no consensus on detailed national aims of education is possible. In fact, such consensus would indicate a degree of cultural conformity which is the very opposite of the present aim of cultural diversification.
>
> (1972, pp.1-3)

Is there a solution to this dilemma? The beginnings of a solution are perhaps to be found in a questioning of the wisdom of insisting on equalising performance for all ethnic groups. If New Zealanders are genuine about their society as a multi-cultural one, in which all cultures are accorded equal status, then perhaps we have to learn to live with some measure of achievement differences between ethnic groups. If success in school is in some way related to achievement motivation which in turn has its roots in cultural value systems and life styles, and it is these value systems and life styles we wish to retain as viable alternatives in our society, then it would seem inevitable that we should expect there to be achievement differences between ethnic groups. Glazer makes some important points when he reflects that:

> The question that troubles me most is what attitude we are to take to these differences. Are we to view them as the consequences of ill-will - that of teacher, administrator, the society in general? How elaborate are we to make the efforts to wipe them out, and how successful can we hope to be no matter how elaborate our efforts are? Are our measures to equalize to include the restriction of the opportunities of those groups that seem to find school achievement easy? Or are we to develop a set of values that accepts within some measure differences as desirable and expectable and tries to mitigate the negative consequences that society imposes for them? These are hard questions, and they are questions to which we do not have answers. ... We need to press not only our research on these differences, their origins, their extent, their causes, the measures that reduce them, but also develop and strengthen a political and social philosophy that permits a society to accept them, to live with them, and be stronger because of them.
>
> (Op.Cit. p.195)

Glazer's sentiments find an echo in the report of The Committee on Secondary Education, (*Towards Partnership*, 1976) who state that their recommendations:

> ... are an attempt to compensate for differences that put [illegible]y groups at a disadvantage, to remove discrimination, and to provide for the development of society beyond mere acceptance of cultural complexity... What we had to work towards was the step beyond recognition of difference, beyond respect for diversity, even beyond tolerance... It is our hope that the new generations of New Zealanders, as well as coming to understand the major cultures, will appreciate also our many cultures. They will accordingly respect them and, because they value the diversity that results, will identify with each and every culture and hold their opportunity to do as something precious.
>
> (Ibid., pp.20-21)

The point that then becomes problematic is trying to determine the area where achievement differences constitute real disadvantages for individuals in our society, over and above the differences that will inevitably arise between children from diverse backgrounds in a uniform national education system.

The conclusion just reached seems eminently plausible and provides a nice sense of closure. However, Glazer's views can be seen as something of a 'cop-out' since the school is seen as entirely unproblematic. Earlier I quoted Lawton who defined curriculum as a selection from the culture of a society. In a multi-cultural situation the curriculum can be defined as a selection from the culture of the *dominant group* in that society. Also, the pedagogy and evaluation techniques used (Bernstein, 1977) derive from the culture of the dominant group. Hence to say that we must learn to live with

performance differences between Maori and Pakeha (indeed Glazer suggests that we must expect them), assumes that we have exhausted the educational options open to us. Nothing could be further from the truth. As suggested in the section on the curriculum, we know virtually nothing of the Maori knowledge code, nor what kind of knowledge Maoris regard as most worthwhile. Where Maori elements have been added to the curriculum they have been divorced from their cultural context and incorporated in terms of the pedagogy and evaluation systems of the dominant group. A genuine multi-cultural education system would not only have various knowledge codes in operation and the different subjects that these imply, but there would be a variety of ways of transmitting these knowledge codes using culturally appropriate pedagogical methods, and with a variety of options available to evaluate when successful transmission has taken place (see also Gadd (1976)). Most, or all of these options would be available with English and Maori as the medium of instruction. As Benton has pointed out (see above under Language studies) such a proposal is quite outside the realms of educational decision making as it has implications for the whole of New Zealand's social fabric. The political contentiousness of such an issue goes without saying, and may account for the fact that this is the area of research and policy on Maori education that has received the least attention.

To return to the quotation from the Currie Report (see above, p.58). Why can't the education system be a prime agency in conserving the Maori cultural heritage? It performs this function for New Zealanders of European origin, and if our education system is to be multi-cultural it must do the same for New Zealanders of Polynesian origin.

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